

**A Royal Queer: Hatshepsut and Gender
Construction in Ancient Egypt**

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Since its earliest systemized study under Napoleon, Egypt has been a popular “other” for modern Western culture. And not the least of its intrigues has been the Egyptian woman, in various Orientalized guises: the beautiful Nefertiti, the seductive Cleopatra, the manipulative Hatshepsut. King Hatshepsut commanded a mighty empire during the New Kingdom, as part of the Eighteenth Dynasty that brought Egypt back from the turmoil of the Second Intermediate Period (during which Egypt was ruled by the foreign Hyksos), and ushered in an era marked by drastic religious and political changes. Hatshepsut managed foreign affairs with neighboring countries, built monuments noted for their innovation and grandeur, and may have waged military campaigns. But, of course, the overriding interest in the king has always centered on her gender.

Scholarship on Hatshepsut traditionally portrayed her gender as a pre-discursive fact, one beyond her control. In a 2005 Metropolitan Museum of Art catalogue accompanying the most comprehensive exhibition ever mounted on the subject of this king, scholars employ phrases such as “presented herself as male;” “the male [image] of her later persona;” and “in the guise of a male king.”¹ And although scholars such as Gay Robins, Lynn Meskell, Lana Troy, and Heather Lee McCarthy have brought much-needed critical perspectives to the study of ancient Egyptian gender, their ideas of gender fluidity have yet to be applied to the embodied lives of ancient Egyptians. For example, Hatshepsut’s “biological sex” is often still invoked as a given, with various motivations theorized for the maleness of some of the king’s visual representation.² As Meskell summarizes, “in our archaeological investigations we have...attempted to locate people from antiquity into a priori Western taxonomies: heterosexual/homosexual, male/female, elite/non-elite.”³ Within this framework, Hatshepsut is female, but chooses elements of male presentation based on political, religious, social, and ritual contexts.

This experiment-cum-paper instead attempts to do a simple thing: use a queered lens to uncover new possibilities for understanding Hatshepsut’s gender identity. It is my argument that even such a limited case study as this demonstrates the benefits that would proceed from utilizing queered methodologies in Egyptology, which has so far been particularly resistant to them.⁴ Based on a broad context of Egyptian religious and mortuary beliefs, and looking at just the small sampling of the extant statuary from Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple, Deir el-Bahri, we can move beyond the binary matrix employed for Hatshepsut thus far and use the more nuanced and accurate understandings of ancient Egyptian conceptions of gender, especially the pharaoh’s gender in relation to the role of kingship, to better see this king. This alteration in

imaginative vantage is a subtle one, but not insignificant. The most common description of Hatshepsut used to be a woman pretending to be a man, and is now often a woman enacting maleness (with or without the knowledge of all of her subjects). What other constructions can be uncovered when we interrogate the very assumption of Hatshepsut's femaleness?

Hatshepsut began her life at court as the daughter of King Thutmose I, although several brothers in line for the throne ahead of her meant that no records would survive of her childhood (except those she retroactively commissioned, when king, about her divine birth and destined coronation). As was common for the Egyptian royalty, she married her half-brother, and when he became King Thutmose II she was a chief queen, holding the favored title of "God's Wife." As her historians have noted, up to this point she had demonstrated no unusual amount of power or ambition at court,⁵ although evidence for the period is admittedly scant. But Thutmose II died unexpectedly only a short while into his reign, and his heir Thutmose III, the son of Isis, a co-wife of Hatshepsut's, was not yet old enough to rule. This situation was undesirable but not uncommon, and often a regent, typically an older queen, would partner with the new king in power until he was old enough to reign alone. So Hatshepsut stepped into the role of ruling co-regent with Thutmose III.⁶

She simply never stepped out again. Hatshepsut eventually took on kingly epithets, titles, and powers. During her reign she directed a significant trading expedition to Punt and oversaw an extensive building campaign, especially active at Thebes. Hatshepsut ruled the country alongside Thutmose III for about fifteen years, but as the more powerful ruler, at least as evidenced in visual references.⁷ For example, in a wall relief of the barque chapel she built at Karnak, the two kings are shown as identical figures. Yet Hatshepsut has retained the place of primacy in front of Thutmose III (indicated by her name in the cartouche). Some scholars have posited that because Egyptian decorum of representation did not have conventions for representing females "ahead" of males, Hatshepsut, as the older and more senior regent, had to depict herself as male in representations such as this, catalyzing her masculine identity.⁸

One factor complicating Hatshepsut's legacy is the proscription that took place around twenty years after her death. For reasons still debated, after reigning alone for some time Thutmose III undertook a systematic campaign of effacement against his former co-regent. Her monuments, depictions, and cartouches were all attacked. When possible, another king's name was carved over hers (often Thutmose I, II, or III); when not, the representation was simply chiseled out or destroyed.⁹ As part of this crusade, the statuary of her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri was removed and thrown into a few nearby pits. Because of this ostensibly unfortunate act, much of the statuary survived for millennia underground; after discovery of the cache by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1920s, over thirty-five statues were reassembled.¹⁰ Today scholars put forth many arguments about the reasons for this effacement, attributing it to questions of legitimacy or representation. Most now agree it wasn't any sort of personal vendetta—which was the earlier sensational version imagined by archaeologists—as indicated both by the two decades between Hatshepsut's

death and her proscription and by the fact that she and Thutmose III always shared regnal years, dating to the beginning of their co-regency, and Thutmose maintained this link. He also built his mortuary temple astride hers, clearly identifying himself with Hatshepsut through both location and architectural style.

The desire to sensationalize Hatshepsut is self-evident through the pages of her historical treatment, and in the popular imagination she still has many iterations—as a manipulative seducer who got whatever she wanted; as a puppet being directed by shadowy male court figures; and as a powerful ruler who had everything except the freedom to love her chief steward Senenmut, à la Queen Elizabeth. Her character has been flexible, able to conform to whatever interpretation scholars have projected upon it, but her gender has been assumed to be fixed.

Even a short survey of Hatshepsut's statuary representation displays the king's complicated gender presentation. Accounts of the magnificent Deir el-Bahri works have attempted to situate each statue based on taxonomical groupings, which were lost in the pell-mell way the statues were destroyed and piled in the ground. Some scholars (most famously Roland Tefnin) maintain that the "more male" images were created later, as Hatshepsut warmed to her kingly representation, or that they were reserved for the public areas of her mortuary temple and the "more female" ones for the inner sanctum only, returning to the fixation of audience.¹¹ But the use of the qualifier "more" is key here, because the statuary does not fall into the binary provided for it. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition catalogue, Cathleen A. Keller has identified and categorized Hatshepsut's seated statuary from Deir el-Bahri, drawing attention to an intriguing group.¹² Some statues, such as works 30.3.3 and 29.3.3 (Figures 1 and 2), depict the king as female, coded in the floor-length form-fitting dress worn by elite Egyptian women and a body type conforming to their representation of females. These statues also include female epithets in the accompanying text. Other statues, such as 31.3.168 (Figure 3), portray Hatshepsut as a traditional male king, with the short kilt, kingly regalia, and ideal young torso of a king, and the text includes correspondingly male titles (as do other statues, such as 30.3.1, see Figure 4). But most interestingly, some statues combine gender attributes, creating something beyond clearly "male" or "female." The pronouns and gendered-endings of the inscriptions variously support, counteract, or complicate the gender portrayed in the visual representation. For example, statue 27.3.163 (Figure 5) portrays a male king, but the inscribed text intersperses masculine grammatical forms with feminine ones. Yet another seated statue, number 29.3.2 (Figure 6), depicts the king with male clothing and regalia, a female torso, and feminine-gendered text accompanying the visual representation. These statues also varied skin tone color, which was another gendered aspect of representation in ancient Egypt.¹³ Yet Keller still concludes her nuanced exploration of Hatshepsut's statuary with an unquestioned assumption of femaleness: "Her royal titulary remained clearly female, and there was never an attempt to pretend that as an individual she was anything other than female."¹⁴

Even this limited selection of Deir el-Bahri statuary applies subtlety, imagination, and innovation to navigate the complications embedded in material depiction of nonstable gender, and those traits are furthered in the myriad other statues, monuments, and wall reliefs of Hatshepsut's building program.¹⁵ Clearly

the king did not see her options of gender representation as limited to one of two categories. Instead, she deployed creative alternatives, combining attributes and paraphernalia to reflect her roles as former queen, current king, and divine protector of Egypt.

Gender and Personhood in Ancient Egypt

If we look to other aspects of ancient Egyptian life, especially the conceptions of kingship and mortuary traditions, it is clear that for the ancient Egyptians gender did not comprise two discrete categories. Troy, who has done extensive work on ancient Egyptian queenship, has contended, “[K]ingship was an androgynous construct in which it was possible to identify both male and female models.”¹⁶ Building on Wolfhart Westendorf’s theory, Troy has posited that Egyptian gender was a continuum that allowed for movement and flexibility, and this continuum is presented in the understanding of rulership.¹⁷ The Egyptians had, she writes, “the...perception of a specifically feminine area of authority.”¹⁸ The position of power was dual-gendered, both parts necessary for the health of the realm. The male king was the leader of the country who ensured that *maat*, or truth and order, was maintained through ritualistic, administrative, and military responsibilities.¹⁹ The king preserved the relationship between the Egyptians and the gods by keeping cult for their statues or having it done in his name, which involved cleaning, anointing, and offering to them, and he kept order and decorum in the country by protecting it from menacing foreigners (which, when Egypt was a military power, usually meant colonizing and subduing them). The royal women—including, variously, the king’s mother, the multiple queens, the group of women sometimes called the “harem,” and the princesses—provided the same service for the king, safeguarding his health, vitality, and power, as well as bolstering the king’s legitimacy and protecting the lineage by bearing children.²⁰ They were clearly a step lower in the royal hierarchy, but still necessary: without a queen, especially, the king would collapse, and without the king the gods and cosmos would follow in a descent into *isfet*, or the always-threatening chaos.

This “androgynous totality”²¹ of rulership was built into the system, which itself was predicated on the example of the divine realm. The creator god Atum was an androgynous being who begat the rest of creation alone. Atum masturbated, and then swallowed the semen and, playing both roles in the procreative process, birthed Shu, the god of the air, and Tefnut, the goddess of moisture. The remaining gods of the Ennead were also twinned. The children of Shu and Tefnut were Geb, god of the earth, and Nut, goddess of the sky, and the children of that sibling-consort pair were Osiris and Isis, Seth and Nephtys. In the famous story of rivalry between these brothers, Seth kills and dismembers Osiris, but Isis and Nephtys recover and restore his body, and Osiris is able to impregnate Isis, who gives birth to the avenging son, Horus. An Egyptian queen served a parallel role to the king as Isis does for Osiris—caring for him and ensuring the continuity of his power and lineage. Without Isis, Osiris would have remained dead and the ascension of *isfet*, represented by Seth, would have been successful.

In ancient Egyptian understanding, personhood was simultaneously divisible and combinatory, as some parts of each individual lived on after death, other parts didn't, and whole identities could be added and integrated. The Egyptian *ka*, loosely understood as spark of life or soul, would separate from the body of the deceased and inhabit the *ka* statuary, built to last for eternity and protect the owner's essence. After death each Egyptian's name was combined with that of Osiris, so that Amenmose became Osiris-Amenmose.²² McCarthy and Ann Macy Roth have done fascinating work on postmortem gender fluidity—Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife necessitated regeneration through intercourse and rebirth.²³ Roth argues that because the exemplary Osiride model of renewal was dependent on maleness, after death Egyptian women became male, even while retaining their femaleness to produce their own rebirth. As proof, she cites the presence of wives in men's tombs but the absence of husbands in women's tombs; she infers that an Egyptian woman “acted as her own husband, her own wife, and her own mother” in the tripartite structure modeled by Osiris, Isis, and Horus.²⁴

Beyond the stories of the gods, Egyptians were masters of syncretism, adept at pun and subtext. As previously mentioned, each king had many names, which contained multiplicities and allusions. Robins has investigated Hatshepsut's royal names for their skillful use of political propaganda.²⁵ For example, her First Cartouche name—Maatkare, or “true one of the *ka* of Re”—contains within it both the words for *maat*, previously mentioned as harmony and truth, the elemental responsibility entrusted to the king, and Re, the sun god. But its hieroglyphic depiction also resembles the name of a former king, Neferusobek, the most recent documented female ruler (reigning three hundred years prior). The possibilities of both phonetic and visual wordplay have been key to the rich field of Egyptian literature studies.



Figure 1. Hatshepsut Wearing the *khat* Headdress, Dynasty 18 (ca. 1479-1458 B.C.E.)
From Deir el-Bahri, Senenmut Quarry and temple, lower court, MMA excavations, 1928-30
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1930 (30.3.3)
www.metmuseum.org



Figure 2. The Female Pharaoh
Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18 (ca. 1479-1458
B.C.E.)
From Deir el-Bahri, Senenmut Quarry,
MMA excavations, 1926-29
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Rogers Fund, 1929 (29.3.3)
Torso lent by Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,
Leiden (L.1998.80)
www.metmuseum.org

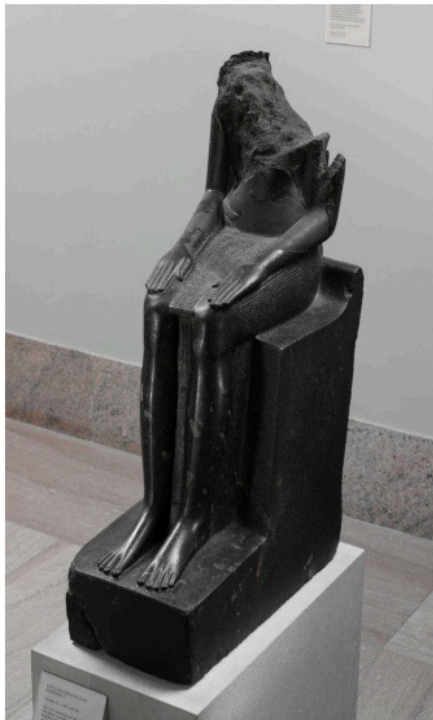


Figure 3. Lower Part of a Statue (probably Hatshepsut), Dynasty 18 (ca. 1479-1458 B.C.E.) From Deir el-Bahri, Senenmut Quarry, MMA excavations, 1926-28 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1931 (31.3.168) www.metmuseum.org

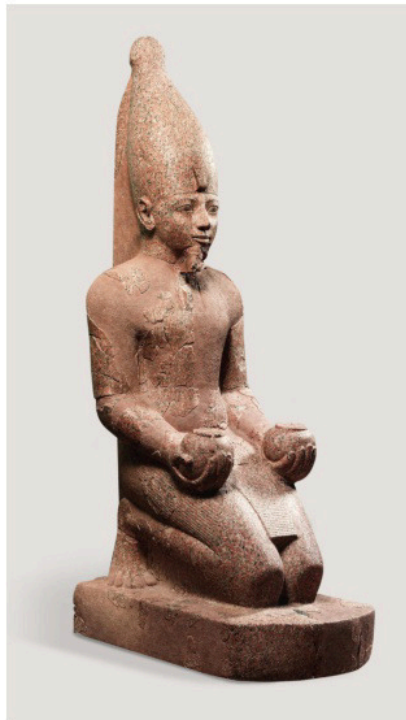


Figure 4. Large Kneeling Statue of Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18 (ca. 1479-1458 B.C.E.) From Deir el-Bahri, Senenmut Quarry, MMA excavations, 1927-28 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1930 (30.3.1) www.metmuseum.org



Figure 5. Large Seated Statue of Hatshepsut,
Dynasty 18 (ca. 1479-1458 B.C.E.)
From Deir el-Bahri, Senenmut Quarry, lower court
and north of temple, MMA excavations, 1926-27
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers
Fund, 1927 (27.3.163)
www.metmuseum.org



Figure 6. Seated Statue of Hatshepsut,
Dynasty 18 (ca. 1479-1458 B.C.E.)
From Deir el-Bahri, Asasif, Senenmut
Quarry, and MMA tombs 108 and 116,
possibly Asasif, MMA excavations, 1926-
28/Lepsius 1843-45
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Rogers Fund, 1929 (29.3.2)
www.metmuseum.org

Viewed next to these nuanced and complicated examples of rendering gender and understanding personhood, the reductive clumsiness of “Hatshepsut in the guise of a male” becomes apparent. Read within the complexity of Egyptian gender constructs, the disjunctures and nexuses of Hatshepsut’s visual representation prove more generative than the standard scholarly depiction of the king as a female working with the visual traditions available to fulfill a male role. Instead, we might ask, How did Hatshepsut conceive of gender? Did she see herself as a woman resisting the preferred state of affairs, ruling Egypt for years while a male heir waited in the wings? Or did *he* see *himself* as a king, who took power when the dynasty was vulnerable, and ruled by the favor of the gods? Or, in true Egyptian fashion, was it a combination?²⁶ While it is clearly impossible to uncover how Hatshepsut understood her own gender to operate within the social matrix of ancient Egypt—and we should not even pretend that such a cogent thing existed—I would argue that a queer methodology at least opens up the possibilities of overlap, fluidity, and combination that the ancient Egyptians skillfully and regularly deployed. Perhaps Hatshepsut was not only fulfilling the gendered-male role of rulership, with the requisite portrayal of the pharaoh with kingly paraphernalia such as the royal kilt, the crowns of Egypt, and the false beard. Perhaps Hatshepsut was an androgynous being in the model of Atum who was able to play both male and female roles when necessary to ensure the vitality and maintain the stability of her kingdom.²⁷ As Egyptian kings were semi-divine, tracing their lineage back to Re or, in the case of Hatshepsut, Amun, and serving as a link between the people and the gods, the multivalence of divine gender roles may have been correspondingly more available to the pharaoh.²⁸

Once Hatshepsut took on the role of kingship, by year seven of the co-regency, she began to perform the acts of kingship. Those rituals placed the king in a position of maleness, metaphorically and literally serving cult for the gods, administering the bureaucracy, and protecting the country. Years of enacting maleness complicate any understanding of unitary gender. This argument is not one of voluntarism, claiming that Hatshepsut at a certain point decided to *become* male. Instead, she started to operate as king and that role necessitated a repetition of acts that in ancient Egyptian culture constituted maleness, and as her position of power shifted from queen to co-regent to king, her gender shifted accordingly, as an equally integral factor in Hatshepsut’s identity. In fact, when Hatshepsut took on kingly titles, her only child, a daughter named Neferure, took on the queenly title of “God’s Wife,” which Hatshepsut had previously held as the queen of Thutmose II. This dislocation of the role of queen suggests that Hatshepsut needed a woman—her daughter—to provide the female aspect of rulership as a counterpart to her own male aspect. Yet in visual representations Hatshepsut could portray herself as both biologically and socially female-bodied, in the dress of an elite Egyptian woman.²⁹

Hatshepsut’s case was an unusual one, and she is often discussed in the same breath as Cleopatra VII, Akhenaten’s wife Nefertiti, and other women of ancient Egyptian history who wielded uncommon amounts of power. And with good reason. But the alternate understanding of Hatshepsut I’d like to propose is not based solely on the unique morphology of her statuary. Instead, the feasibility

of her complicated identification was contingent upon the Egyptian understandings of gender in the divine and royal realms, which normalized composite and combinatory formation. This conclusion is not a solution, but a provocation: that a queer methodology may be the only way to reveal ideas of divine and royal gender as nuanced as those of the ancient Egyptians—particularly regarding Hatshepsut, queen, regent, and king.

NOTES

¹ Ann Macy Roth, “Models of Authority: Hatshepsut’s Predecessors in Power,” 13; Peter F. Dorman, “Hatshepsut: Princess to Queen to Co-Ruler,” 88; and Catharine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, “Introduction,” 4, in *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catherine H. Roehrig (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005).

² See, for example, Gay Robins, “The Names of Hatshepsut as King,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999), 112, and Mary Ann Eaverly, *Tan men/pale women: color and gender in archaic Greece and Egypt, a comparative approach* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 58.

³ Lynn Meskell, “Archaeologies of Identity” in *The Archaeologies of Identity: A Reader*, edited by Timothy Insoll (New York: Routledge, 2007): 23.

⁴ For analyses of how critical theories of feminism and gender have (and have not) affected archaeology, see M.W. Conkey, “Questioning theory: is there a gender of theory in archaeology?” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14.3 (2007): 285-310; M.W. Conkey and J.D. Spector, “Programme to practice: gender and feminism in archaeology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 411-37; T.A. Dowson “Queer Theory meets archaeology: disrupting epistemological privilege and heteronormativity in constructing the past,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Queer Theory*, edited by N. Giffney and M. O’Rourke (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2008); E. Engelstad, “Much more than gender,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14 (2007): 217-34; Timothy Insoll, ed., *The Archaeologies of Identity: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Sarah M. Nelson, *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006); Sarah M. Nelson, ed., *In Pursuit of Gender: worldwide archaeological approaches* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002); Alison Rautman, *Reading the body: representations and remains in the archaeological record* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); and S.A. Terendy, N. Lyons, N., and J. Kelley, eds, *Que(e)rying Archaeology* (Calgary: Calgary University Press, 2008).

⁵ Dorman, “Hatshepsut: Princess to Queen to Co-Ruler,” in *Hatshepsut*, 87.

⁶ For a study of the familial relationships between kings and queens in the 18th dynasty, including Hatshepsut, and a theory about the consequences of Hatshepsut’s resulting kingship, see Gay Robins, “Problems concerning queens and queenship in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt,” *NIN* 3 (2002): 25-31.

⁷ For a thoughtful survey of the visual representation of Thutmose III by Hatshepsut see Vanessa Davies, “Hatshepsut’s Use of Tuthmosis III in Her Program of Legitimation,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41 (2004): 55-66.

⁸ Cathleen A. Keller, “The Joint Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III,” in *Hatshepsut*, 97. For an outline of the conventions of representation used in Egyptian art, see Gay

Robins, "Some Principles of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31 (1994): 33-40.

⁹ As Cathleen A. Keller points out, the statuary of Hatshepsut (such as that described in this paper) was often unique enough that the common Egyptian tradition of chiseling out a former king's name and replacing it with another's was not feasible. Cathleen A. Keller, "The Statuary of Hatshepsut," in *Hatshepsut*, 160.

¹⁰ Dorothea Arnold, "The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahri," in *Hatshepsut*, 270. See also the journals of Herbert E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911-1931* (New York: Macmillan; 1942), especially the 1922-23, 1926-27, and 1927-28 seasons.

¹¹ Roland Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout: portrait royal et politique sous la 18e dynastie* (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth, 1979).

¹² Cathleen A. Keller, "The Statuary of Hatshepsut," in *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catharine H. Roehrig (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005): 158-172.

¹³ See Mary Ann Eaverly, "Egypt: The Exception That Proves the Rule—Hatshepsut and Akhenaten," in *Tan men/pale women: color and gender in archaic Greece and Egypt, a comparative approach* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013).

¹⁴ Keller, "The Statuary of Hatshepsut," in *Hatshepsut*, 163. See footnote 26 for more about Hatshepsut's grammatical genderings.

¹⁵ Keller, "The Statuary of Hatshepsut," in *Hatshepsut*, footnote 56. See also Catharine H. Roehrig, "The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut," in *Hatshepsut*, 184-189.

¹⁶ Lana Troy, "She for whom all that is said is and done: the ancient Egyptian queen," in *Ancient Queens: Archaeological Explorations*, edited by Sarah Nelson (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003), 93.

¹⁷ Lana Troy, "The Ancient Egyptian Queenship as an Icon of the State," *NIN* 3 (2002): 3.

¹⁸ Troy, "Ancient Egyptian Queenship," 2.

¹⁹ This paragraph references concepts discussed by various authors in David O'Connor and David P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995).

²⁰ For more on the multi-generational aspect of female royal power, see Lana, "Ancient Egyptian Queenship."

²¹ Heather Lee McCarthy, "Rules of decorum and expressions of gender fluidity in Tawosret's tomb," in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt, "Don your wig for a joyful hour,"* edited by C. Graves-Brown (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 85.

²² Ann Macy Roth, "Father Earth, Mother Sky: Ancient Egyptian Beliefs about Conception and Fertility," in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, edited by Alison Rautmann (Philadelphia, 2000), 197.

²³ See Roth, "Father Earth, Mother Sky" and Heather Lee McCarthy, "The Osiris Nefertari: A Case Study of Decorum, Gender, and Regeneration," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 39 (2002): 173-195.

²⁴ Roth, "Father Earth, Mother Sky" 199 and Ann Macy Roth, "The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36 (1999). Gay Robins finds that with votive and funerary stelae women are very rarely the sole owners or commissioners, but there are exceptions. See Robins, "Some Principles of Compositional Dominance."

²⁵ Robins, "Names of Hatshepsut as King."

²⁶ Although Hatshepsut was referred to by both masculine and feminine grammatical forms and titular endings, her names—including her First Cartouche name, Second Cartouche name, her Horus name, and others—did not change to take masculine form as her visual representation did. Robins has articulated the brilliant wordplay involved in Hatshepsut's names, displaying how they referenced her kingly legitimacy and responsibilities while motioning towards goddesses and predecessors in a way that male-gendered constructions wouldn't have. Gay Robins, "The Names of Hatshepsut as King," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999): 103-112.

²⁷ Mary Ann Eaverly argues vehemently against such a possibility, and instead suggests that Hatshepsut was trying to "feminize" the role of king, or even "normalize" the idea of a woman king. I have many problems with her analysis, not the least of which that this seems a wishful and contemporary way of understanding women's achievement. Mary Ann Eaverly, *Tan men/pale women: color and gender in archaic Greece and Egypt, a comparative approach* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 65.

²⁸ Although not speaking about Hatshepsut, Meskell makes this point: "Gender identity should be seen as a complex assortment of networks of signifying practices, varying for individuals over time, as it intersects with other networks of signifying practices located in such concepts as class and race." Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," 29.

²⁹ Although we now know of the existence of so many other chromosomal possibilities than XX and XY, I am here following the general distinctions of female-bodied and male-bodied in Egyptian representation, usually indicated by the corresponding secondary sex characteristics.